4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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village to another. An indication of the relative frequency with which different types of marriage residence occur is given by Table XIII. This table is based on all the extant marriages involving the 98 married men whose wives were known and the 175 married women, as shown in Tables III and IV. A distinction is made in Table XIII between those marriages in which the man lived with his wife or in a village near her and those in which the man was effectively absent.

We may now assess the relative frequency of virilocal and uxorilocal residence by extracting those marriages falling into either one or other of these residential categories and by then dividing the number of virilocal contracts by the number of uxorilocal. This is done in Table XIV.

It will be seen that although there were three marriages in which both spouses lived virilocally for every one in which they both lived uxorilocally, this preponderance of virilocality was reversed in those marriages in which the man was absent. There were approximately three wives who lived uxorilocally while their husbands were away for every two who lived virilocally. This difference between the ratios in the two parts of the sample is not likely to have arisen as a chance result and may be regarded as definitely associated with the whereabouts of the husband.

On the basis of these figures we may continue to call the Ngoni a virilocal rather than an uxorilocal people, but it is evident from the last column of Table XIII that virilocal marriages amount to slightly less than half (47·3 per cent) of all extant marriages. It should also be remembered that by no means all of the couples we have classified as virilocal were living in the village of the man's father. We have included in this category all marriages in which the man had definitely stronger ties to the other inhabitants of their village than had his wife. Our definition of the uxorilocal category is similar and not all uxorilocal couples were living in the woman's mother's village.[8] A more detailed examination of the frequencies with which these different kinds of marriage residence occur will be attempted elsewhere.

We have already noted that a man who goes to live in the village of his bride takes on the care of her garden and works in it with her. The produce of the garden is pooled with whoever was looking after the bride, and the young couple draw their food from this common store.[9] A man who does not intend to stay long in his wife's village will usually try to keep his own garden under cultivation near his own village and when he takes his wife back to his village he reverts to his own garden as his main source of supply. If the two villages are a long way apart this may not be practicable, or the man may find it irksome to keep two gardens going, and may lend his own to someone else on the understanding that he will be wanting it back

[8] See below, pp. 75f.
[9] See above, p. 42.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 74 --ANALYST]

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his leadership, or who may have been part of his following before the migration began.[10]

The people led by Zwangendaba called themselves Ngoni, a name derived from Nguni, a term of salutation (*isithakazelo*) common to many agnatic clans in Natal. The tribes with whom the Ngoni fought referred to them by a wide variety of names and it is under these that they appear in the early literature. They were known as Angoni, Amapundi, Bangoni, Batuta, Bazowa, Bunga, Landeens, Landims, Machendi, Mafiti, Mafitte, Magwagwara, Makwangara,

TABLE I. LEADERS OF GROUPS IN THE 1820's

Shaka	Effective head of the Mthethwa kingdom and founder of the Zulu empire.
Zwide	Ndandwe king, defeated by Shaka.
Soshangane	A classificatory younger brother of Zwide.
Zwangendaba	Independent minor chief, sometime ally of Zwide.
Mzilikazi	Originally independent leader who became one of Shaka's generals and later fled from him.
Nxaba	Independent minor chief who fled from Shaka.

Mangone, Mangwangwara, Manitu, Maviti, Mavitu, Mazite, Mazitu, Mbunga, Mchecherere, Rugaruga, Sinyama, Waangwe, Wajoja, Wamachonde, Wamachote, Wangoni, Wapoma, Watuta, Zulu and Zulu Kaffirs.[11] Some of these names they shared with other tribes and bands of brigands.

4. *The residential system*

The Nguni men and women who made up the core of Zwangendaba's following were grouped together in agnatic lineages and in age-sets. Their captives were absorbed into this social structure and in the process the structure was inevitably altered to conform to the peculiar features of Ngoni life. The heads of the various distinct lineages under Zwangendaba, or at least some of them, became known as *regional governors*[12] and their lineages became

[10] Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 158-71, 204-16; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 7-11.
[11] See Tew, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 93.
[12] *Mukumuzana*, pl. *akumuzana*. cf. Zulu, *umnumzana*, village headman; also Read, 'Tradition', p. 462.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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paid more than 17, as befits the fact that segment 14 contains segment 17, and similarly 11 is paid more than 16.

From another point of view we see that the sizes of the counties, in terms of the number of villages, are in accord with the segmentary alignment, although here we have to remember that we are dealing not with the county segments, residual or primal, but with the counties themselves, each containing villages from many segments. Yet despite this complication, it remains true that the status of a chief, as measured by the number of villages he controls, is in conformity with his position in the segmentary residential system. It may well be that during the early administrative period fortune favoured those leaders whose *de facto* following was in agreement with their position in the old political system. The use of hereditary names emphasizes the connexion of the minor chiefs of to-day with the pre-conquest State and to some extent reflects their traditional alignment. Apart from county 16, where the hereditary name changed when a chief was succeeded by his brother, all the hereditary names refer to the first holders of the chieftainship, though not necessarily to the first leader of the county segment. Thus, for example, segment 5 was founded by Lomapela, brother of Zwangendaba. When the British Administration began, segment 5 was led by Zulu, a son's son of Lomapela. Zulu was recognized as a chief by the Administration, and the name Zulu has been adopted by the two chiefs, his sons, who have succeeded in turn. Similarly, segment 15 was founded for the lady Kukuya Kupili twala, a wife of Ntutu Mpezeni I. Her eldest son, Sayili, was recognized by the Administration as a chief, and this name has been inherited by his son and son's son who have succeeded him as county chief.

We should not infer from the conformity between the position of chiefs in modern and traditional terms that the present system is maintained solely by values surviving from before the conquest. This is plainly not the case. Our point here is that in this particular respect traditional values do not clash with those of the new order.

6. *Counties as territorial units*

We have seen that during the period of migration there were no lasting boundaries, and that political allegiance outlasted changes in geographical location. This state of affairs continued for some time after the conquest. The moves that were made were much shorter than in previous times, but the same principle applied. From 1900 to 1930 many villages moved from one site to another as land was alienated to Whites, as the boundaries of proposed

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the post of deputy is still of significance,[7] but in the life of the county the chief's deputy does not play a great part. One man appointed as chief's deputy went to Southern Rhodesia but no one has been appointed in his place and the chief manages without a deputy.

Another traditional post which still functions is that of chief's messenger.[8] This post is quite distinct from that of district messenger who is an employee of the Administration, and of Native Authority messenger. The district messengers and Native Authority messengers are full-time civil servants, while the chief's messengers are only called upon from time to time and are not paid. The county chief nominates one man for each cluster of half a dozen villages or so in his county to be responsible for informing the village headmen in his cluster of forthcoming county meetings and royal hunts. Sometimes a man who has been nominated accepts his post reluctantly, but it is difficult for him to refuse, and an ambitious man may welcome the appointment for the contact it gives him with his chief.

The royal descent-name *jere* is held by all patrilineal descendants of Zwangendaba's father and by the patrilineal descendants of various other people who were given the name by Zwangendaba or Mpezeni I.[9] Only two county chiefs do not bear this name. People who do not hold it regard all those who do as kinsfolk of the Paramount Chief, and from time to time in the appointment of men to office, the common people have insisted that not all the posts should go to men bearing this name. The Administration has regarded all men named *jere* in the same way, and in its efforts to counter nepotism has made similar stipulations. A simple dichotomy of this kind overlooks the divisions within the royal house and between the agnatic kinsmen of the Paramount Chief and those who have acquired the name by other means. Distant agnatic relationship may imply less identity of interest than close non-agnatic ties. Nevertheless the appointment of councillors and others with non-royal descent names does assist the notion that the people as well as the chief have interests in the common good and share the responsibility of pursuing it.

From time to time efforts are made to create new chieftainships. We have already mentioned one attempt.[10] The initiative comes usually from the junior kinsman of a chief to whom he has

[7] See my 'Village headman', pp. 100-6.

[8] *Liyuua*. cf. Zulu *i(li)nxusa*, messenger sent by a king or chief.

[9] See Bruwer, *Mbiri*, p. 23, for the categories of persons bearing the royal descent name.

[10] See p. 140*f*.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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clan and for women of leading Swazi and trans-Zambesi clans. Two of the texts emphasized the distinction conferred on the royal women by special clothing. Cibambo described the use of well-dressed soft skins and of beads and wire, the beads brought with them from the south, the brass wire obtained from the Arabs. In NaNdumbu's text she mentioned cloth bought from the stores. After the Ngoni women gave up wearing soft leather for skirts and the long piece of leather draped from the left shoulder, they used strong cotton cloth of dark blue or black, originally brought by the Arabs and later stocked by the stores. They tied the main cloth under their arms in a draped knot over the breast and on ceremonial occasions they added another fastened on the left shoulder like a plaid. A woman who had been a young girl in the village of Paramount Cikusi, but was not of a leading clan, said that in this village there was a great difference between the royal women and the rest: 'Only the daughters of Cikusi and his big wives could wear dark cloth as the Ngoni do. The others would have been killed if they tried to look like the big women'.

The royal women and the big wives and widows of chiefs and *ahumuzana* were treated by all with whom they came in contact with the distinction and respect due to their prestige. They were addressed and thanked by the term *Nkomo*, with the clan name and the honorific prefix added, except where, as in the case of Bambo Manga, a title had been conferred. She was thanked '*Nkomo Bambo*'.[1] *Ukuhlonipa*, and its Nyanja equivalent *kulemekeza*, meaning to honour and to behave in a respectful manner towards senior people and those of superior rank, was an expression constantly used by the Ngoni and by the other peoples in the Ngoni kingdoms. The forms of showing respect were partly verbal; partly in the position adopted, with the eyes cast down and a slight curtsey by the women when facing someone; partly in the tone of voice when speaking; and partly in the deliberate and controlled behaviour noticed by several early travellers in Nyasaland. A particular verbal form of respect practised by the royal women was the use of the *hlonipa* vocabulary. I found this practice surviving only in the Emcisweni area in northern Ngoniland where the Ngoni language was still spoken, but informants said that it had been common to all married women of trans-Zambesi clans in the northern kingdom when they had spoken Ngoni among themselves. The *hlonipa* vocabulary consisted of the substitution of special words, known only to the women, in order to avoid using a word in which the main syllable of a man's name occurred—a man with whom they were connected by marriage or by affinal relationship.[2] Thus Zwangendaba's wives and widows could

[1] *Bambo* (father) was a term of respect used for important senior men.

[2] *Hlonipa* as a form of special vocabulary was widely practised among the Nguni groups in South Africa. Hoernlé, A. W. 'Social Organisation', in *The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa*, pp. 74, 77.

551 565 576 644 never use any word in which *indaba* (meeting or affair) occurred. They substituted *incayo* for *indaba* and spoke of him as Zwangencayo. The women of the Ngomezulu clan could never use the word *ilanga* (sun) for which they substituted *ijiko*, since Langa was the name of the father of Zwide who had married into the Ngomezulu clan.

Though the particular verbal form of *hlonipa* which the Ngoni royal women brought from the south survived only in one area of northern Ngoniland, the concept inherent in it and the attitudes of honour and respect which it implied were expressed in the use of *Nkomo* in thanking and in the other non-verbal forms already mentioned. Manga, the Royal Sister of Cikusi, was as we have seen, thanked '*Nkomo Bambo*' but also with the formula '*Zikomo mntwana wenkosi*' (thanks, child of the Paramount). Among the central Ngoni there were two expressions of thanks which were probably a relic of *hlonipa* vocabulary since they were used only by the leading women. The customary form of thanking, and of taking leave after a conversation or after getting a reply to a question, was '*Zikomo*' with the clan name and honorific prefix added. The royal women in this area, when making the response to this form of thanking, always replied '*Zaithwa*' with the clan name, and they thanked each other by '*Zimata*' with the clan name instead of '*Zikomo*'. When I observed this and used it myself, they nudged each other and said 'She also is one of us.'

644 We have discussed so far the outward signs of respect shown to the royal women, and the visible marks of distinction in their clothes and the number of their attendants. We shall now examine the way in which the authority of the royal women was exercised. This will give some indication of their relationship to the political organization of the kingdoms, in so far as they had certain responsibilities to the people as a whole, and to their husbands and sons within the royal village where they lived. At the royal village the Queen Mother and her co-widows shared with the wives of the two leading houses to the right and left of the *indlunkulu*, the responsibility for preparing and serving food and beer for the Paramount and those whom he called to eat with him. The text by NyaNsangu[1] describes the etiquette of beer drinking in one of the chiefdoms in the northern kingdom, of sending food to the chief when he ate in the cattle kraal, and of assembling the wives in order of [264] precedence according to their houses to take their food. The formality of this etiquette was characteristic of Ngoni eating and drinking, and it was maintained by the organization and forethought of the royal women, the big wives and mothers of the Paramount, who planned the work of their own households and supervised that of the lesser wives who were attached to the two main houses.

[1] The procedure described in the text applied equally to the Paramount's village and to the villages of ruling chiefs. The Ngoni in that area used the term '*ishosi*' for chief as well as for Paramount.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
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societies maintaining officially a conspiracy of silence, the stories were only standard replies by adults to children, and most adults admitted that children pursued these inquiries among themselves and found out what they wanted to know from each other.

Naming the child

After coming out of the hut and being presented to its male kin and to the elders of the village as 'the new stranger', the baby was given a name. The choice of a name was usually left to the baby's paternal grandfather. He sometimes gave it his name or his father's name, if a boy, or if a girl, his mother's name or his father's sister's name. There was no ceremony attached to naming. After the matter had been talked over by the men at the kraal gate, the grandfather came to the hut, and called the mother and child out and said, 'His name is so and so.' The personal name was seldom used in ordinary social intercourse, but in spite of this every child was given a personal name, and sometimes had added to it a descriptive name indicating that it had been born face downwards, or born a twin, or born too soon after the previous baby.

At this time of naming, the father, or more generally the paternal grandfather, prepared a 'carrying skin' for the mother to carry the baby in. It really belonged to the baby rather than to the mother, for it was used by the nurse girl to carry the baby, and she had the child in her charge most of the day. The skin was that of a goat or small calf from the herd owned by the house to which the baby's father belonged. The skin was cleaned and scraped and made soft by rubbing in fat, and handed over to the mother with some of the meat for broth, and the rest of the meat was eaten by the males of that house. The gift in time became a cloth and not a skin, as skins for wearing or household use went out of fashion. The cloth when presented however was still called a 'carrying skin' and a goat or a calf from the herd of the

8: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5

that the defeat of 1898 is important. Although they claim to have conquered all their African neighbours, Ngoni do not claim success over the British. Instead, defeat at the hands of the British is cited in explanation of every present-day failure and of every departure from traditional practice. Ngoni say, "If we had not been defeated we would not have lost our land and we would not now go hungry"; and "If we had not been defeated the tribes would not have been mixed up and we could follow our customs properly", and so on. In the past, captives taken by the Ngoni were rapidly indoctrinated with Ngoni ways and themselves became proud Ngoni; Ngoni complain that now, although captured by Europeans, they never become Europeans.

The general legends of the past from which these notions are derived are common knowledge. In the main they are passed on orally and are maintained by the teaching of tribal history in schools, the appeals to old military traditions, when recruiting for the Northern Rhodesia Regiment, the conversations of planters comparing one tribe with another as labourers, by the reports of administrators and by the writings of ethnologists.

The link between the Ngoni of today and their illustrious forebears is also symbolized in the office of the Paramount Chief. He bears the name of his warrior great-grandfather, and the formal aspects of his relationship to his people are explained by reference to his ancestors' achievements. He cannot attend funerals or take part in some of his own marriage ceremonies because "he has already conquered all others"; he cannot be expected to walk through the bush with the District Officer because "he has already conquered the whole world". He basks in his great-grandfather's invincibility, for in this context the defeat of 1898 is forgotten. The relationship between the Paramount Chief and his eleven minor chiefs is partly determined by the distribution of power in different branches of the royal lineage before the European conquest, and the division of the country into these minor chiefdoms is a visible reminder of that distribution.

Associated with these tales of military exploits and royal power are myths about former customs. Ngoni say that in the old days they used to hunt, or marry, or build villages, in a particular way and that now they do differently. Frequently when I asked what happened in such-and-such a situation I would be told what my informant thought would have happened before 1898 rather than what he had seen happen now. Thus if we ask what payments do Ngoni make in marriage we are told that there are two payments, "snuff-box" and bridewealth, consisting of one or more beasts. Further inquiry reveals that these payments are now made only infrequently and that the period referred to is before 1898. More detailed investigation suggests that in many pre-1898 marriages they were not made and that when they were made they did not always consist of beasts. Ngoni do not deny these facts but they do deny their relevance. To them the distinctively Ngoni way of marrying is with these two payments, and it is this process alone which merits the vernacular adjective—*cingoni*. They regret that people no longer marry in this way and

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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usually in the male line, and, other things being equal, it is the eldest son of the chief wife who succeeds his father. However, if the heir is a minor, the job of running the village may be undertaken by a brother of the deceased or by the first lieutenant of the village, and in this case difficulties may be placed in the way of the rightful heir should he claim his heritage on maturity. The usurper or his successors may take the name of the founder of the village as though there had been no break in the succession. There is among the Ngoni little of the importance attached to the inheritance of names that is reported from other tribes of the region. Anyone may use the name of any of his patrilineal ancestors, so that, for example, most of the members of the royal lineage, men and women, use the name of Mpezeni on formal occasions in addition to their other personal names.

To assist him in his work a headman may nominate a deputy, and there may be in the village one or more lieutenants. The office of lieutenant in a large and prosperous village tends to be hereditary, but if there is no suitable successor the headman may appoint a man from another family to succeed. Many headmen have no deputy and some have no lieutenants.

In pre-conquest times the small residential group appears to have consisted of the men of an effective minimal patrilineage,[1] their wives, and the families of their prisoners of war. With the passage of time some of the senior captives became lieutenants of the head of the lineage and there was intermarriage between the aristocratic lineage and the captured families as well as between one captured family and another. This process of intermarriage has continued and I found, in every village I examined in the Northern Rhodesia counties, that each person is related to everyone else in the village, affinally and cognatically, in at least one way, while many people are related to each other by a number of different paths. In the Nyasaland counties this process of affinal assimilation has not been going on for so long, and here I encountered families of former captives who have not yet been linked by marriage to the family of their aristocratic captors.

Movement

A village is likely to stay in the same place for a dozen years or so. During this time some of the huts will have fallen down and have been

[1] Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 192: '... the effective minimal lineage, that is, the lineage of smallest span which emerges as a corporate unit in economic, jural, and ritual activities and is differentiated from other units of a like sort.'

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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582 proposed marriage appears to conflict with these rules of incest, be-
835 cause of some distant relationship between the couple, the connexion
601 may be conveniently forgotten by the parties concerned. Incestuous liaisons between people whose parents are still alive are hampered from becoming proper marriages by the refusal of the woman's parents to accept any marriage payments from the man. Similar liaisons between older people may alter the relative kinship status of other couples so that their marriages become incestuous, and they will appeal to the courts. For example, an old man married his son's wife's mother, whom he called *child's parent-in-law*. In consequence, his son and his son's wife became *sibling* to each other. The young woman refused to go on sleeping with her husband, who appealed to the court. The old man was then ordered to give up his newly acquired wife, so that his son's marriage might continue.

[601] At its widest extension, the term *sibling* is applied to any person of
●551 the same descent-name as ego and of approximately the same age.
614 The other kinship terms are then applied to the relatives of this
582 nominal sibling in the usual way. However, there is no rule of exogamy applying to these nominal relatives. These descent-names have been referred to by other writers on the Ngoni as clan-names and the aggregate of people with the same descent-name as a clan. The Ngoni term for such names, *vi-ûongo*, is related to the Zulu *isi-bongo*, and many of the Ngoni descent-names are the same as the names of the clans described for the South-Eastern and Central Bantu.[1] However, among the Fort Jameson Ngoni at the present time, the category of persons formed by all those holding the same descent-name does not have any of the attributes generally attributed by modern writers to the clan. There are no clan heads, no clan exogamy, no clan taboos, no beliefs in a common origin from a legendary ancestor, no clan totems, and no correlation between clan and territory. In these conditions it seems better to use the term descent-name, as has been done for the Lozi.[2] Informants state that even in the old days, when there was a closer approximation to a clan system, there was no clan exogamy. These names are normally inherited by the child from its father, and some of the names are not very common in the tribe, so that it happens that all the people bearing the one name may be the patrilineal descendants of one man. Such groups are exogamic, but this is

[1] Cf. Young, *History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga*, p. 143, for a classification of some of these names, on the basis of ethnic origin.

[2] Gluckman, *Economy of the Central Barotse Plain*, pp. 84–5.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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said to be due to their definite knowledge of common patrilineal descent rather than due to the common name. At the other extreme are names such as *tembo*, *lungu*, and *phili*, which are derived from the neighbouring tribes of the region and are very common and have no connotation of exogamy.

Prior to the arrival of the Ngoni descent-names were inherited in the matrilineal line by the Cewa, Nsenga, and other tribes of the Eastern Province. Under Ngoni influence, the rule was reversed and the great majority even of recently incorporated Ngoni now bear the same names as their fathers. Some people do take the descent-names of their mother, as, for example, a child born in adultery who is not accepted by its mother's husband, or one whose father dies young so that it is brought up by a relative of its mother. As with the Tonga of Mazabuka, some descent-names have locally alternative forms, and in one instance men and women take different names.[1]

Appeal is sometimes made for protection and help on the basis of a common descent-name, but this is not a very strong tie and is invoked only when no closer link can be found. The principal uses of descent-names are in polite forms of address and in connexion with beer-drinking.

Marriage Payments

The initiative in choosing a spouse usually lies with the man. A woman who takes too much initiative in this matter is regarded, usually correctly, as likely to be unfaithful. In the old days marriages were more frequently arranged by the parents of the couple concerned, but now this happens only when the man is away. Men who are on the farms or in the mines send money home to brothers or fathers with instructions to find them suitable wives, and to offer the money as the legalization payment. During the 1939–45 War this arrangement was continued by soldiers who were away.

The most important payment in connexion with marriage is that made by the bridegroom to the bride's father which I shall call the legalization payment.[2] This payment is the one that establishes unequivocally the right of the husband to damages should his wife commit adultery or be allowed by the court to divorce him. It must be observed, however, that damages may still be awarded to the husband under certain conditions where no legalization payment has

[1] The name *sulu* for a man becomes *suvulu* for a woman in certain areas.

[2] *Cimalo*, no plural. Cf. Young, *Customs and Folk Lore*, p. 61.

11: Lancaster G-5 (ca. 1935) 1937 FR5 Ngoni FR5

He

159 was a son of Zongendaba and died after Mombera. After Mombera's death he was
173 acting chief for some years until Chimtunga was appointed.

643 (15) The following is a list of indunas and chiefs who crossed the Zambesi in November, 1835:—Chief Zongendaba, Chief of the Ngoni. Chief Gwaza Tole, Chief
173 Councillor. Chief Njekwane, Chief Military Induna. Indunas: Zulu Gama, Military
167 Adviser; Mguzhulu, Induna Ziolomba Regiment; Somfula, Induna Somfula Regiment;
551 Mgai, Induna Majekwane Regiment; Ntabeni, Induna Ziolomba Regiment. Chief
[643] Gwaza Tole was also Captain of the Machaya Imiti Regiment. Chief Njekwane was
[645] Captain of the Zimpofu Regiment. Regiments:—Majekwane, Ziolomba (black oxhide, white spot), Somfula, Machaya Imiti (red and black hide, white spots), Zimpofu. Wives
701 of Zongendaba who crossed over:—Chibenya Mkhalapi, Great Mother; Susera Nqumayo, Great Wife; Umnene Nzima, mother of Mombera; Nqutu Nzima, mother of Mtwalu;
[595] Mavocho Mkhalapi, mother of Mzukuzuku?; Chigomane, Nguluwe, Ndauya Mbanzima,
[543] Mambose Gama, Vuyakhazi, Mwachuma, slave wife and rain-maker? Daughters:—Lomagazi and Mphangela. Sister:—Qochiwe.

A further list of Zongendaba's wives who may or may not have crossed over:—
173 Nthomane, Bazyamanzya, Zin-Khabi, Nquancleni, Nkhaleni, Nshanya, Mabeti.
167 Brothers and half-brothers of the chiefs who crossed over:—Ntabeni, Mgai, Somfula,
551 Mabuzyubuzyu, Ngoya, Unekwane, Uhallo, Ukhungwayo, Undina, Mtiyane, Lomapela.
543 Chief Diviner or *Isanusi*:—Manyonkolo.

(16) Zongendaba's sons:—Ntutu Mpezeni, Mtwalu, Ndelendele, Mombera, Maulau, Mwalule, Mwamba, Makekevu Njobvu, Mperembe, Mzukuzuku (?) Kakuya, Jadose, Sikane, Chigamane, and others.

(17) Chief Mpezeni Jere's (Ntutu) wives:—Nyendeka Muzyopa, Athungwa tribe;
[595] Lupoko Phakati, mother of Tsingu Jere; Chota; Mtonga, mother of Madzimawe Jere; Mtizwa Soko, Makalanga tribe; Mawase Soko, Makalanga tribe, mother of Mgwazu Jere; Maiwape Hara, Makalanga tribe; Kukuya Twala, Swazi tribe; Ntombiyimbi, First Wife. Eldest Son:—Tsingu Jere; married Nkuchwa. Both were shot in the Rebellion of
[727] 1898. Grandson:—Chiloa Mpezeni II; married Augustina; heir, Pontilino.

159 (18) Ntutu Mpezeni Jere was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village near
173 Fort Young, Fort Jameson District, in 1900.

766 Lupoko, wife of Ntutu Mpezeni I and mother of Tsingu was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village, in 1901.

[727] Tsingu Jere was shot after court martial and buried near Chipinga old camp near Maesa Hill, 1898.

Nkuchwa, wife of Tsingu Jere, shot by Lt. Poole's troops in the Vuhwi Valley; buried on the top of Naaswe Hill, near Christie's Farm, in 1898.

173 Other Ngoni Regiments:—Mayungo (Ntutu Mpezeni's regiment); Machihungu,
704 Mavimba, Mahiza, Zinyoka, Masoho, Manyisa, Zinkondo, Machona, Mahora, Manyera, Mabema, Kambayenda, Mafelakudeni, Chimalilembalemba.

(19) The *isi-bongo*[1] "Jere," appears to have definitely not been used prior to the year 1835, and from information received it is extremely unlikely that it was in general use until after the death of Zongendaba. The chief *isi-bongo* up to that time appear to have been Kumalo, Nqumayo, Tole (said to be the eye of an ox), Nxima, Gama, Mkhalapi, Ndhlovu, and Nkosi.

The *isitakazelo*[2] now little used were Ndaba and Ntungwa.

The language spoken by the Ngoni was closely allied to isi-swazi.

The Paramount Chief, Mpezeni II, still receives the royal salute of "Bayete" on all official occasions and in his own home.

(20) Ba-Pule people. It is stated that, when the Ngoni first met these people, they carried long spears and shields made of game hides, and they could converse with the Ngoni in isi-swazi, which was not the language of the Ba-Pule; when they spoke their own language they were not understood by the Ngoni. The general opinion of the old indunas is that they were BaSuto people. They supplied excellent fighting material to the Ngoni impis and were treated as equals.

INTERESTING NOTE *re* DEATH OF LOBENGU'LA.

Lobengula, Chief of the Ama-Tebele. It is stated as follows.

Lobengula crossed the Zambesi at Manyerere Drift and arrived at the Mtenguleni Uka Sosera village on the Lutembwe River in January, 1894. He was carried by an Ngoni party who had been sent for that purpose. He was a very heavily built man with a large protruding belly, and breasts like those of a woman heavy in milk. So cumbersome was he, that he had to be helped to move about from one place to another. He had a great pipe in which he smoked hemp. If he passed the pipe he would talk, but if not it was a sign he wished to be alone. When Chief Mpezeni visited him he used to crawl on his hands and knees to greet him. The day Lobengula died the rock on the Sanjika Koppje split and fell and all the great Ngoni indunas mourned. Sanjika is on the road between Fort Jameson and Fort Manning. I have seen the split and fallen rock.

It is not known where Lobengula was buried; as he was a fugitive from justice, the secret was closely kept. It is said he died shortly after his arrival from the Zambesi in 1894. This information was given by an aged Ngoni councillor, named Ropu, who resided near Fort Jameson, and died in 1927. This story is but little known and usually all knowledge is denied of this subject.

List of people who, being the oldest living Ngoni, attended a meeting held on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, 18th, 19th and 20th of January, 1935, at the Paramount Chief's village to discuss the history of Chief Mpezeni:—Bunaliya Soko, Zamajaya Mphamu, Mahamanya Mphamu, Mahowa Mwase Shawa, Dodo Tole, Mjoko Mdwambi Jere, Mabwahiliche Tembo, Mwaje Nkhowa, Katanda Mangwazu Mahowane, Kapandula Jamasi Mvula, Mashiliba Mphamu, Chikangwhazo Ngulowo, Chiwere Maimbo, Mauka Jere, Mapalanga Mphamu, Chief Mpezeni Jere II, Chief Madolomowo, Andrew Kapatamoyo Jere, James Ndhwambi Hara, Malelwa Kangwere Ekhowa, Pezgani Mvula, Adriyano Phiri, Zebabulalo Gawani Mawere, Chingulahani Mwale, Jiya Mvula, Ngungu Singa Jere, Mahowa Mphamu, Nwabi Lubbulo, Njombwa Tembo, Adamilwanko Mahanga, etc.

[1] [isi-bongo = sib name -- Analyst]

[2] [isitaKazelo = honorific epithets -- Analyst]

/5 cont'd/
Clan names, however, are inherited from the father in most Ngoni families. These names are used as surnames for the purposes of the Administration, and as forms of polite address. On marriage, a man and wife may live in either the village of the man or of the woman, although the custom whereby initially they should live in the village of the woman for a few years is still followed by some.

III

In the village there are dwelling huts, storehouses, pens for the small animals, drying platforms, and cattle byres. The huts are often arranged in rather uneven parallel lines, with all the huts facing the same way. The fences found in other parts of the country enclosing a small courtyard round the hut, are not often seen here. Each married woman has her own hut, and possibly a smaller hut as well, used as a kitchen and sleeping place for visitors and children. Unmarried adolescents of one sex sleep together in modest huts they have built for themselves or else in a hut left empty by a former resident. Where bamboos are available, as in the north and east of the area, they are used to form the framework of a circular hut. The walls are made in two concentric circles, with mud plastered on the inside of the inner circle, but with the outer circle often left unmudded. The walls are made in unbroken circles, doorways being cut out later with an axe. The space between the two circles is used for storing pots and other household goods and is sometimes used for cooking. The bamboos are woven together, split bamboos going horizontally and unsplit ones vertically, so that light is able to pass through the unplastered wall. Open lattice fencing is also found forming part of the outer wall.

Where bamboos are not available, either circular or rectangular huts of poles and mud are made. Rectangular huts are often subdivided with a partition wall, to make a separate sleeping place, while the verandah may be partly walled in to make a cooking shelter protected from the wealther. With both bamboo and pole huts, the